

CASA DE RUY BARBOSA  
No.

PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAWS

LECTURE DELIVERED IN BUENOS AYRES BY COUNSELLOR RUY BARBOSA,  
BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE ARGENTINIAN INDEPENDENCE COMMEMORATION  
JULY 14th-1916.

(Translated into English by)  
Leopoldino Amaral Meira

(As published by the newspapers)

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Lecture delivered in Buenos Ayres by Ruy Barbosa, Brazilian  
Ambassador to the Argentinian Independence Commemoration --  
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My Lord Minister, Lord Dean,  
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The extreme honour, with which you bewilder me, does not apply to myself; my Nation only can worthily receive it. The unestimable worth of your act and the very unmerited generous words, besides all, moving by their benevolent sincerity and their affectionate intention, with which you have just received me through the imminent master's mouth, whom you have entrusted with the mission of hailing me, have penetrated into the innermost depth of my soul; but they have not dulled in my conscience the certainty of the invalidness, and deficiency and worthlessness of myself, ere the spectacle in which this magnificent Assembly envelopes me, amidst the eloquent accents which echo in it, and under the impression of the grandeur of the gospel that is professed in this house.

Who am I, I?

Who am I, forsooth, to play in this superb scenery the part that you have raised me up to? Merely an old friend of justice, a labourious but barren man of letters, a very modest labourer in sciences. Nothing else. All my life's significance is reduced to an example of work and perseverance, and loyalty

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to some sound ideas.

A character continually in search of an ideal, which I could never see except from the gloomy depth of my mediocrity, far off, like a hope dashing against a reality dream. In politics, though my exceedingly generous compatriots have heaped upon me, by high complacence of theirs, favours and dignities, to which I fail to have meritorious title, circumstances have constrained me to an element of strenuous resistance, perhaps useful sometimes to stop evil, but almost always without any authority to obtain good.

For in countries where Civics is scarce developed, only those who hold the sway have in their hands the power of evil or good.

Set up momentarily in the government by a revolution, I had the part which could not be declined in the services of those who framed it, and of course, a bigger share in their errors. Later on, as a collaborator in the settlement of the institutions borne out by these events, I gave the remainder of my existence, with little result and extreme diligence to the labour of interpreting them, and of submitting them to a sort of Object Lessons, to facilitate their use, placing it within everybody's reach, and to that of pleading for them against sophistries, errors and abuses.

But in the merit of this ungrateful and oftentimes unfruitful toil, I do not see anything to praise me above my known frailties, in which I have become old, always more conscious of my weakness, ignorance and want of authority, both on the ground of ideas and on that of facts, which whirlwind seizes and scourges and consumes us, abandoning us, already useless, in the end, on the margin of Eternity, through where the torrent of life flows away to its unknown destinations.

Big flashes in the fog.

Now and again, however, there gleam through the fog that covers

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them up, big flashes of light, splitting the space in the moral world and allowing us to see forth, away from our delusions frontiers into the furthest resting places of our eyes, the prospective summit of mountains gilded by the divine promise sunlight.

Taken now by surprise, in these twinklings of light, the man reconciling with faith that was deserting him, feels himself kneeling down towards Heaven in the mysterious depth of himself going on through the darkness of prospects that obscurity of things is but the temple veil, in the silent void from which infinite have God's hand, insensible to our impotence, preserves the unestimable treasures of His kindness for races and nationalities that knew how to deserve them.

It is just in moment like that, that I feel now, once passed through these doors, which, from the contemplation of the Argentinian firmament in the translucency of its blue and in the white purity of the snows of its Andine horizons, bring us into this sanctuary of study, wisdom and justice. One should say that a transfiguration is experienced, that the presence of a priesthood has summoned that of a divinity, that from the offices and rooms of the Academy, have raised up the ogives, the domes, the silent caryatides of a cathedral, lifting upon their hands and supporting upon their back the weight of the holy roofs, that the tribune has converted into a pulpit, a subtle incense imbues the air, and the invisible carriers of prayers murmured in the secret of their consciences, send up to the Creator's bosom the holocaust of their hymns, like the morning balsamic steam raises in the limpid air the meadow aroma, the songs of the flowers and the garden intoxication. The voice of our selfishness has dummed up, and in the retirement of souls, in their interior vibration, on the thrilling waves that run

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through them, a transcendental murmur of aspiration and of a new confidence is heard. "Sacrificate sacrificatium justitiae, et sperate in Domino!"

It is under the influence of one of these emotions, very seldom felt in my age scorched by the dryness of experience, that I enter your hospitality and hail the august hearths of this house. Here many generations have gotten through after those precious veins of the science of society, in which deep branches the enigma of the problems of the human family organization and their conditions of evolution on the earth's surface, waits for the incessant miner's work, which is not loosened by the increasing and rising difficulties of the everlasting task. Here the most notable judges, members of Parliament and statesmen of yours have provided themselves with the first dealings in the commerce of laws. The jurisdiction, administration and the professorship of these vast and perplex subjects, upon which the structure of the state is settled, have here the aviary of capacities, the laboratory of solutions, the school of systems, of theories, of refined truths and of questions submitted to investigation. All the intellectual progress of your country has transited, during its elaboration, expansion, consolidation and fructification, through these rooms, through these benches, through these venerable professor's chairs, which the lustre of glorious years dresses with that holiness with which the verdigris of time renders celebrated the ancient bronzes.

All these images, the shadows of these traditions, the help of these remembrances glorified by the admiration and gratitude of the contemporaries, all of them now summoned up by the patriotic dates and by the liberal July records, you would think they would fill up the hall of this Faculty, when a few minutes ago my hesitating footsteps of a foreigner, bashful with your

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It was under similar circumstances that I got to know the Argentinian regions in 1893. "You dejé mi país", said he later on, "yo dejé mi país en busca de la libertad de atacar la política de su gobierno, cuando ese gobierno castigaba el ejercicio de toda libertad, como crimen de traición a la patria". For him it was not sufficient, as it was for others, "el deseo de ser libre". He had not, regarding freedom, this kind of "platonic love". He loved it in a material and matter of fact way. "I love it to possess it", he added. "La amo para poseerla... Pero no hay mas que un modo de poseer su libertad, y ese consiste en poseer la seguridad completa de si mismo. Libertad que no es seguridad no es garantía, es un escollo".

That is how it was defined in England, United States, and the Argentinian wit interpreted through one of its best thinker's work, used already to define it no other way. "La civilización política es la libertad. Pero la libertad... no es otra cosa que la seguridad; la seguridad de la vida, de la persona, de la fortuna. Ser civilizado para un sajon de raza, es ser libre. Ser libre es estar seguro de no ser atacado en su persona, en su vida, en su bienes, por tener opiniones desagradables al gobierno. La libertad que no significa eso, es una libertad de comedia. La primera y ultima palabra de la civilización es la seguridad individual".

All civilization, thereby, is contained in freedom, all freedom in the safety of individual rights. Freedom and lawful safety are equivalent terms which can be substituted one for the other. The social state that does not ground on this truth is an oppressive social state; the oppression of majorities against minorities, or that of minorities against majorities, two expressions substantially sisters of tyranny, both illegitimate, absurd and barbarising. The Latin Republics in this Continent

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kindness and with the invincible surety of not having anything with which he might know how to wish it back, passed over its threshold. The long and bright theories of your immortals, their long retinue of laureates, unfolding to our eyes the history of the Argentinian intellectuality, has bewildered and mixed up with the splendour of this festivity. But my interior eyesight still discerns them here assembled, envolving the noisy alive multitude on the dum crowd of the revived, and querying, with their penetrating curiosity, the rashness of the stranger who has not had the discretion of refusing your call. Why should the foreigner, the unknown, the incompetent come here?

He has come, gentlemen, to bring to the sovereignty of the Argentinian greatness, the tribute of obedience of a free heart, which I do not know whether owes more to you to day in the honours of this solemnity, as you receive me like my Government and my Nation messenger, or twenty three years ago, when you did not refuse to the expatriated the asylum of your hospitality, the shelter of your laws, the surety of your shield.

#### From Colony to Independence

It was then that the readings in my exile led my starting the volumes of your Alberdi, the first author of yours who set me in connection with the Argentinian liberal thoughts, and whom, despite his anti-Brazilian preventions, I admire more and more, and up to this day I regard as one of the most select intelligences in the American literature. The learned "Tucumán", one of the glories of Buenos Aires ancient University, in the second quarter of last century, on the bad days of his country, experienced twice the sorrow of a refugee, seeking first in Montevideo and then in Chili, at the shadow of foreigner's lodging, the shelter where he could freely make use of his writing and thinking rights.

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that divorce from their more or less free Constitutions, and sink themselves in savagery, will not owe this unfortunate luck but to the disgrace of despising and not practising this very simple rudiment of constitutional philosophy.

Forgotten or abolished this elementary principle, the governments, devoted, through their charters, to the republican system, but really grounded on intolerance, shall fall immediately into this peculiar state of chronic epilepsy, which phenomena Mr. Lucas Ayagarray described with Tacitus' brightness in his book-"La Anarquía Argentina y el Caudillismo"-and one of your greatest historinas Mr. Vicente Lopez, characterized in proper words, when he treats, in his great "Historia de la Republica Argentina" of "el descenso fatal del organismo político hacia la tiranía absoluta".

The Spanish domination had not fitted the peoples, like the British Colonization of North America did, for the regime of liberty. From the absolute submission to rudimentary forms of passive obedience, they could not get at the self-government on the system of people for people, without sorrowful transitions. The seed cultivated by the truculent despotism of the absolute kings logically beggoted the despotism of the rude domineering leaders. Hence this "barbarian poem" of servility and disorder, this "cyclopic subversion", the "gauchocracy" (gaucho's rule), that practise anarchy to mendicity, encourage cruelty to delirium, make mob commotion and bring forth the domineering leader, dye the history of the pampas with blood, and, with a savage military superstition, with the customs of a cruel partizanship, divide society into executioners and outlaws, classify the citizens in patriotics and traitors, enthrone up in the power the blood-thirsty domineering ones, and desert the country with

cultured wits, arising with them the exile, while, amidst dazzling constellations, shine your first rate stars; the Sarmientos, the Alberdis, the Rivadavias, the Tejedores, the Lopez, the Mitres, the Varelas, the Canes, the Escheverrias, the Lavalles, the Gutierrez, the Indartes, the Irigoyens, and so, so many others, where the brightest rays of the Argentinian intelligence are concentrated, and whence they spread themselves off.

All those who do not enlist in this cruel and plundering demagogey are out of the "laws protection", are "egregious criminals", have "infamous feelings", are taken for the "vilest beings" in society, make up the class of the "filthy and the savage ones". In virulent literature, which is sent forth by these disastrous paradoxes, the plethora of the brother-killing hatred introduces this monstrous vocabulary, while each outrage reflects out the darkest passions of misuse of power, encouraged with omniform faculties, with tumultuary dictatorship, with grottesque plebiscite, in which the unanimity of votes collected by Terror, crowns the "law restorers", and the betraying decrees, that strike the noblest representatives of the just arising but already alive, spreading and brightening juridical culture.

These unrelatable dark and accursed days, for Argentine's happiness, go by already far away. For her they have passed away, though have not done so in other regions of this Continent. There were republics, just twenty years ago, under the "South Cross", where the political outcasts were branded in their destiny with the stigma of treachery, emanating from official utterances just to tarnish abroad the persecuted ones.

#### Argentine of to-day

You have, however, long ago consolidated your civilization. Twenty five years, at least, of steady government, incessant order and

uninterrupted progress, have released you for ever from the re-falls into the anarchy evil. A vast development of wealth, the collections of work in the prosperity, an abundant transfusion of the European blood, a civism educated on the best exemplaries of conservative liberty, great reformatations picked out with discretion, loyally adopted and honestly practised, have released the traces of the ancient ailments from your robust organism, fated for a giant growth, have secured you a definitive reputation in the world, and have made out of the Argentinian Republic one of the contemporary civilization centers, a nation whose enviable progress can be shortened in a word-saying that Argentine is an organised country.

Whenever a situation like this is secured and settled, you can turn your mind back to the gone by bad days with tranquillity and pride. Neither the American sky, nor the race or the territory can answer for those bad days. The ultramarine oppression, the colonization and the conquest influences are the ones responsible for them. Saturated with a monastic, despotic, superstitious and servile education, the people-founders of these lands, implanted in them, with the original sin of their offspring the attavism of absolutism vices, entrained for centuries in the organism of the Iberian people, vices whose malignancy culminated under the Midday Demon and his degenerated after-comers. Likewise to <sup>Bartholomew</sup> Mitre, it seems to me that "ningun pueblo se hubiese gobernado mejor a si mismo en las condiciones en que se encontraron las colonias hispano-americanas, al emanciparse y fundar la Republica, que estaba en su genialidad pero no en sus antecedentes y costumbres."

Mr. Louis Varela, in his notable "Historia Constitucional de la Republica Argentina, demonstrated, with the difference between the

two emancipating movements, how much more difficult it was that of River Plate United Provinces, in the commencement of the 19th century, to that of United States of North America, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The North Americans pleaded for rights, in which possession they had been since the settlement, while the Argentinians entered a revolution to have rights to which they aspired and had never had. The puritans who peopled the North American Colonies brought over there, along with them, the British civilizing institutions. But the Spaniards who took up the River Plate regions were conquerers of territories, which they held, bending themselves to the arms law. In the Charters granted by the English Crown to the North American Colonies there were real constitutions, that extended to the emigrants all freedom secured in their mother-land. The Spanish Colonies were but factor's establishments discretionally ruled by vice-roys in the name of the European Sovereign. When rid from the Metropole, the British Dominions were already self-governed entities, politically provided with republican representative governments. The Argentinians upon breaking their colonial bonds did not find anything else in the heap with which they entered the self-ruling life but the Spanish centralization traditions, the laws of Indies, and a rudimental outline of township in the "cabildos" of the cities. Up there all the local power raised from the people, whose polls elected their governors. Here the ruled ones had no individual or collective vote on the choice of their rulers. Up there, to raise up a nation, it was sufficient the states combining together and resigning a very small fraction of their sovereignty. Here everything relating to local, provincial and national institutions, which the Republic producing a popular "fiat", summoned from a chaos and improvised from nothing, was to be done.

It was not strange, therefore, that men of a clear vision would fear the work that was to be undertaken, and that Dr. Manuel Castro, before the meeting of Tucuman Congress, expressed his fears, saying: "Demos que se organice la mas bella Constitucion Federal que han conocido los Estados. Qual sera sera el genio, que acierte en ponerla en ejecucion? Momento peligroso; el tiempo resolvera esta gran question."

The question finished up in the course of time. But it was not solved by anybody's genius. The miracle of solving it belongs to the Argentinian people's wit. It was their democratic instinct their powerful qualities of assimilation, their natural character of familiarizing with free institutions, that led your total and absolute entrance into the really emancipated nations consent.

#### Historical abridgement of the Argentinian independence

When the revolutionary drama broke out, on the vast scenery of Latin America, along with the insurrections which broke out from River Plate to Chili, from Venezuela to Mexico, on a general impelling force that comprises all the Spanish Colonies, the house of Ferdinand 7th and Charles 4th, dethroned in 1808 by Napoleonic invasion, sees that Count Aranda's forebodings were a fact. This nobleman in 1783 already advised his Sovereign to give voluntarily up the hold of his "professions" in the two Americas, establishing down there three distinct kingdoms, upon which the shadow of the old European Monarchy, raised to imperial dignity, should be extended.

The celebrated statesman, on a stroke of wonderful long-sightedness, announced since that epoch the separation of international estates, that Castella Crown thought submitted to its ownership by an unbidable dependence. The separation of the North American Colonies did not diminish their confidence in the vassalage of those of their own. But the Counsellor President of Madrid

Government, on the contrary, understanding the importance of that lesson, tried to persuade the Spanish Throne. "Acabamos" said he, "acabamos de reconocer una nueva potencia, en un pais en que no existia ninguna otra en estado de cortar su vuelo. Esta Republica Federal nació pigmea. Llegará un día en que crezca y se torne un gigante y un coloso en aquellas regiones. Dentro de pocos años veremos con verdadero dolor la existencia de ese coloso. Su primer paso quando haya logrado engrandecimiento, será apoderarse de la Florida y dominar el golfo del Mejico. Estos temores son muy fundados, y deben realizarse dentro de pocos años, si no presenciáramos otra comociones mas funestas en nuestras Americas."

The crowned foreheads do not use to listen to warnings like these. Charles 3<sup>d</sup> did not take heed of his long-sighted counsellor. And on the track of the North American revolution there came the French Revolution, and on that of 1789 followed the Napoleonic deluge, in whose torments sink the house of Bourbon, in Spain. The Washington and Paris sparks would soon crackle in the Plate's air. The souls embued, through the works of Moreno and Belgrano, with the French philosophy of the 18th century, agitate themselves excitedly and the happenings fly clamourously up in a fast rush towards the arrival of this nationality, since 1806, when, with the reconquest of Buenos Ayres, with the Cabildo Albierto from Plaza Mayor, and with the victorious entry of Linier, the first appearance of the Argentinian people was noticed, until 1816, when Tucuman Assembly announces definitively the national emancipation.

On the 10th of February of 1807, a Board of Notables determined the suspension of the vice-roy and the seizure of his papers. That is what your historians reasonably call the first triumph of the sovereign people. From the second to the fifth of July, the charge and defence of this City is struggled for. The British

republic with the Organic Regulation of the 22d of October, its first constitution, whose ordinances, in their majority, preced those of the present constitution. That is where the nation is baptized with the name of United Provinces. In this primitive document of your constitutional existence, the declaration of war, the performing of work, the tax-levying of the country, the establishing of tribunals and public offices, the inviolability of members of Parliament, the legal responsibility of the executive power, the independence of the judicial one and the individual guarantees, are already preserved to the legislative power; and amongst these, the greatest of all, that of "habeas-corpus", which amongst us in Brazil, has gotten the greatest development, but did not nationalize with the Brazilian legislation but twenty one years after it was consagrated in your first scheme of constitution.

#### The slavery traffic

A few months later, in April of 1812, a Government act closes the territory of the country to the human flesh traffic: "Se prohibe absolutamente la intriduccion de expediciones de esclavos en el territorio de las Provincias Unidas". That is the great humanitarian aspiration, which Brazil could only carry out fifty two and United States thirty years later on, through one of the most wonderful civil wars that have ever stained the world with blood.

Fourty eight years after the act of 1812, the Argentinian Constitution stated: "There are no slaves in the Argentinian Nation: the ones existing shall be freed since the oath of this Constitution." At that time United States had not yet succeeded in attaining this conquest, which, precisely in that epoch, was on the eve of originating the tremendous internal revolution, that, during a luster menaced to dissolve the North American Union, and Brazil

sea and land forces surrender, embark, leave River Plate. "Buenos Ayres", said Don Cornelio de Saavedra, "Buenos Ayres con sus solos hijos y sus vecindarios, hizo esta memorable defensa, y se cubrió de gloria".

The revolution of 1st of January of 1809, disbanding the Spanish forces, surrendered to the popular militia, secures for them another great step on the way to independence. This victory of Buenos Ayres made way for the next year revolution. That of 1810, started on May 20th, can be accounted as actually carried out on the 22d, when the Cabildo Albierto, that was named General Congress, puts down the Spanish legal powers. The general feeling then can already be declared in the remarkable phrase of Moreno: "La Espana ha caducado en America".

Two days afterwards a momentary reaction tries to establish the king's laws again. But on the same day, at night, the city people, free from restraint, agitate threateningly in the streets; and at the next day dawn, the popular masses burst the colonial submission chains, announcing, upon the election of the Ruling Junta, the constitution of the first Government set up to rule the United Provinces of River Plate.

It is the revolution of May 25th that makes the Vice-Kingdom in Buenos Ayres to expire. The other towns and villages on the invitation of the latter help it sending their deputies to the organization of a federal government, of an executive power, established in December of 1810, in which the outline of a federation, of the representative system and of the republican form is made, which other deeds of the great revolution would not take long to develop, conclude and solidify.

In the two following years the redeeming and organizing agitation increases. In 1811 the Ruling Board supplies the arising

could only carry into effect twenty seven years afterwards.

#### A parallel.

Commenting this parallel, I wrote seven years ago, in the Brazilian press: "Had Brazil impressed the same christian principle upon the angular stone of her independence and of her political organization, the course of our civilization, the swiftness of our progress, the nature of our character, would be otherwise." Unfortunately the lot preserved for us by the original inconsequence of the authors of our emancipation, was pretty diverse. Our future historians will not be able to say, as the historian of her independence said twelve years ago, with reference to Argentine Republic, that slavery, as an institution, affected very little the economical and moral conditions of the arising society. Far from that, amongst us, on the contrary, all the chain of our history connects with the iron ring of the African slavery. Hence the biggest contrast between men and nature, which tarnish our reputation and humble our forehead before the foreigners. During three generations we had been free, prosperous and rich at the cost of our fellow-creature's oppression. We are going to-day through the great expiation that shall never fail, shall never forgive the historical attempts, the capital crimes against humankind. The corpse of the yesterday defunct slavery is in decomposition amongst us, poisoning our souls, our ideas, our institutions with its cadaverous miasm. Therefore we fail to have in men's aspect and in that of things, that luster, that elegance, that brightness of the European civilization. These stigmas are tenacious and do not deceive. They represent the Divine Justice, from whose sentences, both people and individuals do not ransom themselves but by undergoing endurance.

What we owe to the Argentinian contact for the extirpation of this cancer, did not pass unperceived by our gratitude.

In 1865, Councillor Sarqiva forebode that the alliance of the Empire with the Platine Republics would necessarily result in the extinction of slavery in Brazil. Six years afterwards, Paranhos, pleading the bill, from which came the act of September 28th, confirmed eloquently these presentiments: "In the end of Paraguay war I was in contact with fifty thousand Brazilians, who were in contact with the neighbouring people; I know through the confession of the most learned amongst them, how often the hated slavery institution vexed and humbled us abroad; and one could ask the most illustrious of our compatriots who carried out the campaign, whether all of them came back, or not, eagerly wishing to see initiated the reform of the servile element, whether we owe or not, in fact to them the most powerful impulsion which the idea lately acquired".

The Argentinian Nation was quite right in not forgetting in the festivities of May of 1888, this title of forerunner of the manumission of slavery in America "countersigned by the greatest Brazilian statesmen", and of her influential cooperation, on the work of our regeneration. She was conscious of her superior contingent in this human conquest when she opened brotherly her arms to us, celebrating with us the last act of the servitude suppression in the civilized world.

It is more precious, between two peoples, a tradition like that in their history than the deed of an alliance treaty in their chanceries.

#### Independence and emancipation

In the usual and natural order of things, people's independence takes place before their emancipation. But amongst us, the events have altered the customary sequence of the political evolution in the course of mankind. When the final cry of

His foreboding heart did not deceive him. The royal troops are driven back. The forces of the "ejército chico", in Belgrano's irony, defeat the "ejército grande" with all the self-conceited insolence, that praised the enemy troops with the brag of this nickname. Tucuman, the weird northern Province obtained the motto of her escutcheon of arms. It was the "tyrant's tomb", as it is prophetically called, on the solemnization of the victory, by the laureate general.

The Provisional Statute, issued in May of 1813, by the "Junta de Obsecacion", appointed as intermedial place in the United Provinces territory, for the projected meeting of the Constituent, the Capital, that had been celebrated by the last reverses of the foreign military power, thus, was about to be perfected the revolution of April 19th, which in 1813, <sup>had</sup> summoned a very soon coming General Congress, where to formulate a State Constitution. Paraguay did not answer. The Oriental Band, Entre Rios, Corrientes and Santa Fé are under Artigas' dominion. But the other provinces, including, at last, that of Cordoba and that of Salta, attended eagerly to the call.

The assembly thence resulting does not match in political culture that of 1813, that was composed of the patriots of 1810; but imparts precisely the localities therein represented, and combines in its bosom, generally, those men of more service and esteem in each Province respectively, being noted amongst them a few superior individualities, from whose number surpassed three monks so notable both by their virtues and letters, and by their civism and liberal principles. In the eagerness for these ideas the clergy competes with the courts and with the generality of people. It is a comparatively adventurous product of an election, to which the public indifference of certain localities and

your emancipation resounded from Tucuman over to the regions the Plate, in 1816, the Argentinian initial Constitution, the mother of her later Constitutions, was already wrought in the work of Dean Funes, in this "Organic Regulation" on the three powers, which, since 1811, was adopted and promulgated by the conservative Junta of Buenos Ayres. That was the impatience in which burnt vibrantly the old Spanish Colony, in the conscious vigour of theirs, to enter immediately and fully the fruition of their majority, having their government organized and their rights settled, and so many were the culture elements that had already developed in the high ranks of the new society, the flower of capable men brought together by it, the popular veneration that surrounded them, the prospective intuition which gave them a clear vision.

It is not for that, however, that the civic festivities might diminish their worth, as that is the place, where the movement started in 1806 and glorified in 1810, culminated with its terminal consagracion in 1816. Belgrano's unexpected triumph, in September of 1812, renewed the revolution feature, defeating the Spanish armies, and throwing over to Peru the forces of General Tristah. The people of that historical city ran zealously to the liberator's appeal, all the manly population took up arms, and the women themselves associated actively to the general enthusiasm, working in the manufacturing of cartridges. Treading over the government's categorical orders, the gallant general gave the battle that was unwarned by his superiors, in which risked his life, on an inevitable honour duell. "Algo es preciso aventurarse y esta es la ocasion de hacerlo. Felices nosotros se podemos conseguir nuestro fin, y dar á la Patria un dia de satisfacion, despues de las amarguras que estamos pasando."

the regional hatreds of others did not seem to augur good results.

Three different currents are debated in the bosom of it, three creeds divide it: the centralization, the federation and the restoration of the Incas. But the opinions divergent on these local tendencies, incline to monarchy, which counts amongst its followers names of high prestige like Rivadavia, San Martin and Belgrano. It is a dissimilar, disunited and floating body, and the social picture by which it is surrounded, is described by itself, through the pen of Cactano Rodriguez: "the provinces are parted; the people set at variance; the social union ties are broken; government not steady; a general struggle for interests; the State Powers vacillating; the sources of the common prosperity exhausted; a black storm prepared in the horizon and the nation on its way to an astounding anarchy".

Fortunately the divergences that, in matter of form of government agitate the dissimilar assembly, are withdrawing and getting all of them calmed down, at the great patriots' voice, before the supreme aspiration of all hearts: the national independence proclamation by a national act of a national assembly. "Hasta quando esperamos para declarar nuestra independencia?", asks San Martin, then busy in Mendoza, with the organization of the Andes army. Along with him, Belgrano insists and urges it. It is the unanimous feeling. The two oracles' authority stimulate it. The pressure increases with the efforts of Pueyrredon, the supreme director, whom the Congress has just nominated. The assembly cannot resist or delay any more. The independence of the United Provinces is the "Order of the day" for the sitting of July 9th. The Congress does not discuss it amongst the applauses of the multitude that glorify it, in an act of the highest language and hand it over to the Provinces, to the popu-

populations, to the armies, who are going to vow it under a  
paroxysm of enthusiasm.

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